

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Modern Patriots.

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*Speciosa verbis; Re inania aut subdola;  
quantoque majore Libertatis imagine tege-  
bantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius Ser-  
vitium.*

TACITUS.

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HISTORY

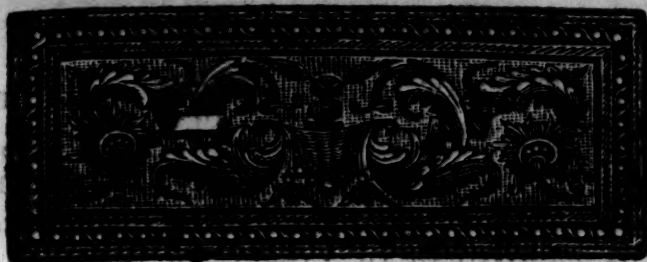
Modern Patriots

English history; the history of England  
and the history of the English people  
from the earliest times to the present day  
by J. R. Green

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Price Six Pence

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T O  
*Caleb Danvers, Esq;*

A N D  
*Mr. H--y St. J--n.*

*Right Noble and Worthy Patriots,*



F while ye are penning elegant Harangues to your Fellow Subjects, and laying Plans for your future Glory; if while ye are intent on Schemes for the impending Ruin of a great Man, or happily elated with the Fruition of imaginary Honours; if the one is frugally and honestly anxious about the Management of the Publick Treasury, or the other busied in negotiating some glorious Peace: If at such a Juncture the Boldness

iv      *DEDICATION.*

of a Dedicator should spoil a well turn'd Sentence, destroy an infallible Scheme, or deprive ye of your transitory Happiness, pardon the Wretch that dares disturb your only Enjoyment of Power, or retards your pursuing the Good of your Country.

Dedications have been look'd on only as the Policy of Authors, either to enhance a Reward by the Flattery of their Patron, or secure their Works under the Umbrage of their Power: Neither of these is my Case; for as PATRIOTS surely must scorn the first, which I would not descend to; ye may deny me the last, which I do not want.

My Reason of Dedication is, that as none can be better Judges of some Matters of Fact in the ensuing History (if so I may call it) than yourselves; nor none more worthy to offer a Review of *Modern Patriotism* to, than those who have been so *eminently distinguished* in its Cause; I think I may claim a Right to make ye my Patrons.

Though I avoid Flattery, as the common Topick of a *Dedication*, yet as something extraordinary is due to such a Noble Patronage, I know nothing can be more uncommon than Truth.

Ye



Ye have now made a long Opposition to those in Power, and have been so indefatigable in your Enterprize, so strenuous for your Country's Weal, that what honest *Englishman* but must wonder *Merit* can be so utterly unregarded? That One, (who is known to have no Motives but the Publick Good) presides not over the Publick Treasury; nor the Other, (who has been so remarkably *faithful* to his Country,) is not trusted with the Negotiations of his Prince.

But let not such Disappointments give ye any Uneasiness. While ye can have this *Consolation*, that ye are the *Patriots* of your *Country*, let the Consciousness of your *Merit* be your *Reward*. What can be a greater Satisfaction than to see some wish'd-for Effects of your past Conduct, and the Conduct of those employed in your Cause? To see the *Faction* you have raised, applaud your *Wisdom*; to be *buzza'd* by a *Mob*, whose Esteem ye have bought by the most humble Condescension; to see a Spirit of Discontent raised among many by your Industry alone: These are the noble Product of your *Patriotism*; and may this Success alone repay your Labours.

Under

Under what an Error have the generality of Mankind been long deceived? Who has not thought that there was nothing essential to *Patriotism* but *Integrity* and *Honesty*; and that any good Man might make a good *Patriot*? - - - But what Thanks, Sirs, are not due to your Ingenuity, who have convinced the World of the Mistake; who have shewn there must be some refin'd Notions in Politicks requisite to *Patriotism*; and demonstrated, that what was esteemed easy to be attained, is, by your Wisdom, improved into the most profound Mystery.

To excite a Faction in an oppressed People, to rouse a Spirit of Liberty against the arbitrary Designs of a Tyrant, has been imagin'd nothing so very extraordinary: But to persuade the People they are in Danger, where no Danger is; that they are about to be made *Slaves*, when they enjoy the greatest *Liberty*, this must be allowed to be the Result of an *uncommon Genius*, and *exquisite Skill*.

Were Men of such Qualifications plac'd at the Helm of Affairs, what might their Country not expect? They would undoubtedly make every one *Rich, Great, and Happy*. No *Taxes* would burthen the People

# DEDICATION. vii

ple at Home, no *Negotiations* ever miscarry Abroad: The *People* would live without *Forces* to defend them; the *Prince* without *Money* to support him.

But, alas! Illustrious Pair! Since it is not given you to adorn the Councils of your Prince, nor any ways to contribute to the *Happiness* of your *Country*; since the People are so *foolish* as not to think their Prince can live without *Support*, nor their Country safe without *Defence*; go on boldly in ridiculing their consummate Folly: Rail incessantly against any Military Force, tho' it is your own Faction that makes one necessary; confute Arguments with Sedition, and convince your Adversaries with Defamation. By these Arts (notwithstanding all Opposition) ye shall keep up the Glory of *Modern Patriotism*; nor shall your most inveterate Enemies hereafter deny this great Truth, *That ye had contended gloriously, had ye contended for the Good of your Country.*

I am,

*Yours, &c.*

# DEDICATION

At a public meeting held at the  
Assembly Rooms, on the 1st of  
November, 1841, the following  
address was delivered by the  
Rev. Mr. [Name], of the  
[Church], [City].

My friends, I have the honor  
to address you on the occasion  
of the dedication of the new  
[Building], and it is a privilege  
to be permitted to speak to you  
on this important subject. The  
[Building] is a noble structure,  
and it is a credit to the  
[City] that it has been erected.  
It is a fitting monument to the  
[Cause], and it is a fitting  
place for the [Cause]. It is a  
place where the [Cause] can be  
promoted, and it is a place  
where the [Cause] can be  
advanced. It is a place where  
the [Cause] can be made known  
to the world, and it is a place  
where the [Cause] can be made  
valuable to the world. It is a  
place where the [Cause] can be  
made a blessing to the world,  
and it is a place where the  
[Cause] can be made a blessing  
to the world. It is a place  
where the [Cause] can be made  
a blessing to the world, and it  
is a place where the [Cause] can  
be made a blessing to the world.

I am,

Yours,





T H E

P R E F A C E.



*HOWEVER* impertinent the modern Method of Prefacing may be esteem'd, I cannot think one unnecessary in Defence of some Objections that may be made against the following Pages.

*I doubt not but there may be many who will not in the least assent, that the History of a present Faction will bear any Parallel to that of Catiline: Such are they who may hate the Name of Traitor, but love the Treason. Others may think the Characters of their beloved Patriots can possibly have no Resemblance to those who openly attempted the Destruction of their Country: I grant, their Patriotism has not carried them into Open Treason, nor to appear in Arms against their Prince and Country: But if Sedition and Faction, the exciting civil Discord, and endeavouring to sow the Seeds of Discontent among the People; if these Measures bear any Comparison, I shall think the Foundation of the History justified.*



## The P R E F A C E.

*As to the Roman Names, I retained them, as more proper than modern ones, that no one might say, This is that, or that Man : But whoever may think the Picture has any Similitude of himself (as he is the best Judge) he may make the Application.*

*If the Conclusion is objected to, as, That the Party against the Ministry still subsists; I think it a sufficient Answer (according to their own reiterated Protestations) that if they still subsist, they subsist without any real Reason : And as all their Projects have been entirely defeated, and all the Measures of the Ministry succeeded, I think I may have the greatest Justification of ending it as I have, and in their own Words.*



T H E



THE  
HISTORY

OF THE

*Modern Patriots.*



AS there is nothing more grateful to Humankind than the Enjoyment of Liberty, there is nothing about which they are more anxious, than the Defence of it. Liberty is ever jealous, and ever watchful; fearful of all Encroachments; strenuous for what it possesses; difficult to be obtained, easy to be lost: The more it's asserted, the more it flourishes; and those who in the Defence of it have been most zealous, in the Enjoyment have been most happy.

All Nations that have either originally been free, or shook off the Yoke of oppressing Ty-

rants, have been so sensible of this inestimable Happiness, that they distinguish'd those Men who have been eminent in defending, or illustriously bold in obtaining, their Liberties, with the glorious Title of PATRIOTS of *their Country*.

Such were the *Bruti, Camilli, and Cicero's* of *Rome*, who made the noble Stands against the Tyranny of their Princes, or the Infringement of their Laws; who were agitated by no False Passion of Lust, Ambition, or Private Interest; but whose only Design was the Good of their Fellow Citizens, tho' it oppos'd the Measures of a Friend, or concurr'd with those of a Rival.

Such were the ancient *Patriots*, who long struggled for the *Roman* Liberty, and long preserv'd it against all the Attacks of the most ambitious and designing Men; who strenuously defended it when it was attempted, but made no false Pretence it was so, only that they might be esteemed Patriots: They asserted their Liberty, but coveted not Licentiousness: They contended to be Free, but not to transgress the just Bounds of their Laws; for they thought the Preservation of their Laws was the Preservation of Liberty itself: They acted on no Principle but the Publick Good, nor had any other Interest in their view than that of their Country. Such were the Men who were recorded as the Glory of their own Age, and will remain the Admiration of the latest.

As the greatest and noblest Designs have by wicked Men been abused, that of *Patriotism* has not met with a better Fate.' When the *Roman* Empire began to shine in its greatest Lustre, Abroad victorious, at Home happy; nothing but her too prosperous Fortune could have prov'd her



Ruin. The *Romans*, after a continued Series of Prosperity, when through Wantonness they knew not what to wish, began to complain of the narrow Limits of their Liberty: Their Prosperity and their Vices made them extravagant in their Desires; nor could they be satisfy'd with any thing but Licentiousness itself: Those Men who had defended their Laws, and granted them all the Liberty that reasonable Men could desire, or was consistent with the Safety of the Commonwealth, were esteem'd no better than the Enemies of their Country; while they who thro' private Designs, Revenge, or other Passions, encourag'd and fomented their Discontents, were styl'd its *Patriots*: The Safety of the Publick Good dwindled into Private Interest, and Patriotism into Faction.

Altho' *Rome* wanted not Men bold or willing enough to assert her *Freedom* when it was threatened, yet neither wanted she others, to pretend it was endanger'd, that they might endanger it. The Ambitious incited the Popularity to be free, that they might make them Slaves: The Debauchee wanted an unbounded Licentiousness, that he might have no Restraint on his Vices: The Profuse, the Debtor, and the Slave, set up for Reformers of the Commonwealth; and even CATILINE with his Conspirators would have had themselves thought the Assertors of Liberty, and Patriots of their Country.

I could heartily wish the State of *B-t-n* was not somewhat parallel to this of *Rome*: I could wish our too much Prosperity had not made us wanton, nor that Patriotism was not degraded into the most shameful Faction. But when Men enjoying the utmost Extent of Liberty in their Civil and Religious Affairs; when even our Re-  
vealed

vealed Religion has been attacked with Impunity by some; while others have formed themselves into Politick Cabals, and from a Notion of Liberty, abused their King and Government: When such Men complain of the narrow Bounds of Liberty, to what can we attribute it but the discontented Spirit of Faction? A Faction rais'd and supported by the united Power and Interest of several Men; who, tho' of different Sentiments, and different Designs, yet in this all unanimously concurring, to endeavour to distress the Government, and disturb the publick Tranquillity.

As the Supporters of this Faction have styl'd themselves the *Patriots* of their Country; and under that Masque, have by various Arts, carried on their seditious Designs, I can no way think it improper to give some short Account of this *Modern Patriotism*. And this I can the more impartially set about, as I'm neither agitated by Hope of Reward, or Fear of Censure.

Whoever considers the various Humours, Tempers, and Passions in Nature, they need not be at a loss to account for the Strife, Discord, Contention, Deceit, and Ambition, that molests the peaceful Part of Mankind. There are no States or Kingdoms, but in which there are Cabals form'd of discontented Men; who by their Nature are always uneasy, or unsatisfy'd; complaining of the want of Liberty, or censuring the Government that protects them; who by various Arts delude the Credulous, or exhort the Seditious into an Approbation of their Cause. Their next Point (where they generally meet with Success) is, to gain the Esteem and Applause of the Popularity, who adore them as their chiefest Patriots, who roar out most to them of  
their

their Liberty: Tho' they are those Men who have made all the Attempts in their Power to render them the most abject Slaves.

This aiming at Popularity, under the Notion of defending Liberty, has been the constant Scheme of Politicks of ambitious and factious Men, from the ancient *Sylla's* and *Catiline's* of *Rome*, to the more modern ones of our present Age: And as this is so sure a Scheme, they whose Intent it is to disturb the publick Peace, never forget that important Point, of addressing and applauding the Popularity.

Nor would one wonder at this their Success, was it to stop here; But when we see more reasonable Men, either blinded by their seeming Honesty, or deluded by their false Arguments, esteeming them as the most worthy Patriots and Assertors of Liberty; we can in Charity attribute it only to their so vehement a Zeal for Liberty, that hinders their considering the Motives or Characters of their beloved Patriots.

And altho' some should use their utmost Care, they may too easily be deceiv'd, by Men perfect in the Art of Dissimulation; who can seem what they are not; who can disguise, or even deny, their Principles to promote their Designs; who put on Humility out of Ambition; and, tho' Proud and Insolent, can descend to the most servile Flattery.

In all Factions these are the chief Patriots: for as the greatest Stress is laid on them, they are to enjoy the greatest Share in the Mock-Honours.

Endued with every Art to raise Suspensions, forge Dangers, deceive the Incautious, were *Lucius Catiline*, and *Marcus Fulvius*: Men, who were seemingly very opposite in their Principles,  
and

and who had been long profess'd, if not inveterate Enemies. *Fulvius* had always oppos'd *Catiline*, and esteem'd him as an Enemy to his Country: *Catiline* had represented *Fulvius* as the Betrayer of his Fellow Citizens Liberty; and a servile Creature to Men in Power: Yet these two, on a mutual Concurrence in Sedition, became the sincerest Friends: *Fulvius* defends *Catiline*, and his Conduct, openly avows him a good and honest Citizen: *Catiline* uses all his Eloquence to vindicate *Fulvius*'s Integrity, and to persuade the People he is the Patriot of their Country.

*L. Catiline* was of Birth Noble, of Genius aspiring, but impatient of Restraint: From his Childhood Ambition was his darling Passion, and Power his chief Desire: His Person graceful and genteel, his Mind bold, subtle, inconstant: in his Desires ardent, in his Promises unfaithful; desirous of Favours, of Gratitude insensible: Amorous, a Lover of Pleasure, and immoderate in the Pursuit of it: Treacherous, but irresolute. His vast Ambition always exciting him to somewhat incredible and improbable.

This Man had enjoy'd the chief Honours in the Commonwealth; but by the Treachery of his Nature, and Proneness to Evil, had betray'd the Trust his Prince had repos'd in him: And had his Designs answer'd his Infidelity, he would not only have given up the Rights and Liberties of his Country, but render'd it a Province to a foreign Kingdom, and a Victim to the Fury of an incens'd Bigot. His Life, which for this he had forfeited, was, by the Clemency of the succeeding Prince, not only given him, but he was suffer'd to return to his Country, tho' he had been aggravating his Crimes, by adding Rebellion to his Treachery. Yet, thus Pardon'd,  
and



and thus Restor'd, his Impatience to bear the Disgrace of not enjoying those Honours he had so deservedly forfeited, join'd to his natural Ambition, and innate Ingratitude, rouz'd up all his Passions, and made him, like a desperate Wretch, resolve to disturb that Peace and Happiness of others, which he could not enjoy himself. He wanted not long to put his Resolution in Practice: He soon found the discontented *Fulvius*, a Man the most proper for his Purpose; who could give his Artifices a Colour of Honesty, and a Sanction to his Villany, by the Name of *Patriotism*.

*M. Fulvius* was of the Senatorian Order: A Man fond of Popularity and Applause: Greedy after Power, Honour, and Riches; in Prosperity discontented, in Disgrace revengeful; close, and designing; a perfect Master of Dissimulation: He kept one Design in his Breast, while he had always another ready at his Tongue. In Friendship and Enmity, alike inconstant; esteeming only one or other, as it might prove commodious to his private Designs: Cunning enough to invent, and eloquent enough to promote the most destructive Mischiefs: And, lastly, who thought it the surest Policy, rather to seem, than be, good. Such was *M. Fulvius*; who, with these Qualities, enjoy'd also a plentiful Fortune, was beloved by his Prince and Fellow Citizens; appear'd courteous to all, strenuous for the Good of his Prince, and his Country. Nor could any one imagine that *M. Fulvius* was capable of entertaining a Thought of Faction. But that discontented Nature, which he had so long ingeniously conceal'd, upon some private Pique, broke out with all the Fury of a Flame that had been so long stifled: Then the Fidelity to his Prince, the Duty to his Country, the Bonds of Friendship, were immediately cancell'd;

cell'd; and nothing could satisfy his insatiate Revenge, but to stir up a Spirit of Faction against his Prince, and Uneasiness in the People.

As *Fulvius* and *Catiline* were so fitted for each other, they soon found an Opportunity to meet, and concert Measures proper for their Designs: And it could not be unpleasant to see two Men, each conscious of the other's deceiving Nature, entering into a Solemnity of Friendship, where both knew it would last no longer than serv'd their different Purposes. *Fulvius* was glad of *Catiline*, to assist him with his persuasive Manner of addressing the Popularity, and the number of Malecontents which he always had at Command, and which would add a Strength to the Faction. *Catiline* as readily embrac'd *Fulvius*; who not only could form a numerous Party, but, being popular, would raise an Esteem of many, and bring over others. Besides, as the Family of *Fulvius* had always appear'd the Assertors of Liberty, there could not be a more prevailing Man to raise a seditious Faction, under the Pretext of the Defence of it.

*England* has ever been a Nation impatient of Servitude, and bold in the Defence of her native Liberty: So strenuous for her Laws, that she has nobly asserted and preserv'd them, against the Rage of Conquerors, or Oppression of Tyrants. As Right was founded on Strength alone, the Inhabitants were often suffering from the Incursions of their more powerful Neighbours; yet, amidst all their Calamities, they retained their Laws inviolable: Esteeming it better to die in their Defence, than survive their Loss.

After several Invasions, they not only grew able to repel a Foreign Force, but enlarge their Dominion Abroad: The Stranger became fond  
of

of the Liberty and Laws of the Native; and in a short Space of Time there was no Distinction or Emulation among them, but who could be most eminent in the Service of their Country, and Defence of their Liberty. When they had nothing to dread that might endanger their Liberty from Abroad, they began to find it more dangerously attack'd at Home. The Lust of unbounded Power, and arbitrary Sway, broke out in their Princes; and there became an Uneasiness between them and their People; They endeavouring to be controul'd by no Law, These strenuously resolving not to be govern'd but by the Law; They insisting on a Right of Prerogative, These on their Liberty; They using all Stratagems to enlarge their Power, These to defend their Right; the Prince jealous of the Subject, the Subject of the Prince.

Thus *England*, after repeated Attempts of arbitrary Princes on her Liberty and Laws, was at last become the most Happy and Free of any Nation; envied for her Prosperity, admir'd for her Enjoyment of *Freedom*, under a Prince who founded his Empire on the Hearts of his People; who coveted not Power rais'd on the Ruin of his Subjects Liberty, but thought a Prince had always Power enough to do them good; who esteem'd their Happiness mutual, and Interests as inseparable. Who would imagine here could be the least Pretence for Faction or Discontent? But the Ambitious and Disappointed, the Rebel, and the Traitor, infest all Governments, and are the Growth of all Nations: They equally censure the wisest Measures, and revile the best of Kings.

Even under such a Government, the Rage and Despair of *Catiline*, the Envy and Malice of *Fulvius*, were not discourag'd from setting up a

Faction: They were resolute, and not to be startled at any Dangers: They were sure, as soon as they set up a Standard in the Cause of Liberty, they should be supply'd with Auxiliaries, willing, under any Leader, to serve in such a Cause. The Difficulties which might have deterr'd some, were easily conquer'd by their Zeal. As they were so indefatigable, they succeeded even beyond their own Expectation. The Discontented, the Seditious, the Factious, promiscuously added themselves upon various Motives to the Cabal. Whoever had betray'd a Publick Trust; whoever had invented Schemes for the Ruin of their Country, and built their Fortune on the Misfortunes of Many; who had been again confided in for the Management of Publick Funds, and again deceived the People: With these they commenc'd a solemn Friendship, excited them with Promises, sure of their sticking at nothing which might seem for their Interest. *Catiline* grew familiar with those Men that had avow'd him a Traitor, and *Fulvius* with those who had despis'd him for a Sycophant. *Catiline* laid his Snares for young Gentlemen on their first Arrival to their Fortune, or Appearance in the World; and from an Intimacy he profess'd he had formerly with their Family, and stimulating them to imitate their Paternal Virtues, he seldom fail'd of attaching them firmly to his Party and Principles: While *Fulvius* work'd himself into the Opinion of those who were desirous of Change and Novelty, yet did not care to appear so openly in their Cause; more being excited by the Hope of Power, than Want of Riches.

But the Chief of them who were of their Cabal, were *Lentulus*, *Autronius*, and *Cassius*, of the Nobility; *Bestia*, *Curius*, *Q. Annius*, *Statilius*, and *Piso*, of the Senatorian Order. These agreed



agreed to meet at the House of *Fulvius*, in order to carry on their Designs. At their first Consultation, *Fulvius*, after the usual Ceremonies, thought it not improper to address himself to the Assembly after this manner.

*Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow Subjects,*

‘ If I was not well assur’d of your Virtues and  
 ‘ Fidelity, I should scarce have ventur’d to em-  
 ‘ bark with ye in this Enterprize: But I doubt  
 ‘ not your Sincerity will keep up your Ardor of  
 ‘ strenuously prosecuting the Councils we are  
 ‘ now entering on. I need not mention the Mo-  
 ‘ tives of this Confederacy: Each has his several  
 ‘ Reasons, and several Designs: But in this we  
 ‘ all concur, that we are all injur’d, and will all  
 ‘ revenge it: That our Injuries shall be repaid with  
 ‘ Honours, and our Contempt with Rewards.  
 ‘ And it’s hence we dare oppose ourselves to the  
 ‘ greatest Dangers, and commit the most noble  
 ‘ Mischiefs. All of you assent with me in this;  
 ‘ and to wish alike, and disagree alike, is the  
 ‘ way to the firmest Friendship. Nor need  
 ‘ I to rouse your Souls, remind you of your In-  
 ‘ juries: It is Oppression; it is Loss of Liberty;  
 ‘ it is Contempt: Power, Honours, Riches, are  
 ‘ in the Possession of an undeserving Few. The  
 ‘ Bold, the Noble, and the Good, are without  
 ‘ Favour, without Reward, without Praise;  
 ‘ ridicul’d and despis’d by those, by whom, was  
 ‘ there any Justice, or Reward for Merit, we  
 ‘ should be dreaded and rever’d. How long,  
 ‘ Gentlemen, can ye suffer this? Can Men of  
 ‘ noble Souls tamely bear the Bonds of Slavery?  
 ‘ Can Men of Resolution see their Merit despis’d?  
 ‘ Are any so unspirited, not to be excited with  
 ‘ the Desire of Power or Honour? Behold! Be-  
 hold!

‘ hold! the Opportunity ye have so often wish’d  
 ‘ for! Here are present a Confederacy of Men,  
 ‘ able to encounter and overcome all Difficulties;  
 ‘ to rouse the Spirits of the most degenerated,  
 ‘ or deceive the most cautious. But let the Re-  
 ‘ ward of Places, Profits, Pensions, Revenge,  
 ‘ and Power, set before your Eyes, have more  
 ‘ Influence than what I can say. The Popularity  
 ‘ are assuredly yours, while on this Design: What  
 ‘ afterwards they may be, ye need not regard.  
 ‘ Use me as your Chief, or as a common Man,  
 ‘ my Interest will be the same, and my Glory  
 ‘ equal.’

Having ended, *Catiline* immediately began to  
 praise *Fulvius*, and avow his own Sincerity;  
 which was follow’d by the general Applause and  
 Protestation of them all. After mutual Congra-  
 tulations, they came to these Resolutions; That  
*Fulvius* and *Catiline* should have the chief Dire-  
 ction of Affairs, assisted by a general Committee;  
 That, right or wrong, they were to do all in their  
 Power, by Writing, Interest, or otherwise, to  
 embarrass the Measures of the Government; Last-  
 ly, That they should not desist, now they were  
 engaged, till they had gain’d their Ends, *i. e.* were  
 rewarded with Places of Profit, or Pensions.  
 Having come to these Agreements, they retir’d  
 to a Collation *Fulvius* had prepared for them.

What honest Man can without the utmost De-  
 testation reflect on the *Patriotism* of these Asser-  
 tors of Liberty, these Defenders of our Civil and  
 Religious Rights? Can see a *Catiline*, the Par-  
 don’d, the Ungrateful Rebel to his King and  
 his Country, professing he has nothing at Heart  
 but the Good of his Fellow Citizens? Who can  
 view the Piqu’d *Fulvius*, acting on Self-Interest  
 and

and Revenge, that can approve his Measures? The First even pretends not any Loyalty to his Prince; and they that will think him a Zealot for Religion, may esteem him a Patriot for his Country: The Other, out of Loyalty to his Prince, foments Sedition in the Subject; and opposes the Councils of his Prince, to increase the Happiness of his Country.

But to return. After this Conjunction was form'd, and Preliminaries settled, they thought it most for their Interest to strengthen their Party, and draw in new Alliances, before they appear'd publickly: In order to which, there were Emis-saries dispatch'd from *Fulvius* and *Catiline* to those in the Country, where they could but in the least imagine they should succeed, to revive the noble Spirit of the *Country Party*; not doubting but under that Masque they should allure many: While others in the Combination were not idle in the City. When they had prepar'd ev'ry thing to put their Consultations in practice, they began to attack their Enemies in the Administration by Writings, the Management of which were more immediately committed to the Care of *Fulvius* and *Catiline*. By these they were to prepare their Way to their grand Design, by raising a Spirit in the People against the Councils of their Prince. In these they were to raise Doubts, Suspicions, Difficulties, Jealousies of every Action of the Ministry; to ridicule their Negotiations with Foreign Princees, and rail at their Treaties as inconsistent with the Good of their Country. Nor while they censure their Conduct Abroad, were they to forget to cavil at their Administration at Home: They were to represent them as Weak and Corrupt Men, whose only View was to enrich themselves, and ennoble their Families; who  
were

were making all Attempts on the Liberty of the People, which they would sacrifice for their private Interest. They were to ransack History for unjust Parallels; and, under Pretence of aiming at the Minister, strike at Majesty itself. Corruption, Bribery, Avarice, Embezzlements, and ill Management, were to be continually dunn'd into the Ears of the People, always open enough to such Complaints; and credulous enough to believe them, without the least Foundation. And, lest their Subject should be exhausted, they were even to descend to that petty Revenge of playing upon Names; and to demonstrate the Iniquity of the Minister, be very merry on the Wisdom of his Godfather.

Tho' they were busy'd in this, yet they were not idle in forming Parties in the very Senate, where many join'd out of hope of future Reward, some out of Hatred to the present Constitution, but more from the Notion only of being considerable enough to be of a *Party*.

Upon the first Meeting of the Senate, in ev'ry Debate they began to shew their Spleen, and cast oblique Reflections on the Ministers: But when the Supplies for the ensuing Year came to be consider'd, the Opportunity which *Fulvius* waited for, and which he embrac'd, he began a long Harangue on the ill Administration and Conduct of those in Power, and severely censur'd them that had the Management of the late Supplies; tho' he himself had lately approv'd of those very Measures, and had been one of the Persons whose Frugality was call'd in question. Yet he went on resolutely, censuring what, according to his Argument, he himself had been guilty of, and opposing even the necessary Supplies for the Support of the Government. After he had spent



a considerable Time, more in Altercation than Reasoning, *M. Tullius* arose, and answer'd, That he was not insensible of his Hatred to him, but wonder'd he should even extend it to his Prince, who had disoblig'd him in nothing, unless denying to please his utmost Vanity.

*Fulvius*, in a long set Speech protested his sincere Attachment to his Prince; that his only Intent was the Publick Good, and the Interest of his Fellow Citizens; that he own'd himself an Enemy to *Tullius*, as he thought him no Friend to his Country. Here, his Rage and Passion rising with his Words, he could not retain himself within the Bounds of Decorum, or even Prudence, but concluded, in a haughty fierce Tone, ' That *Tullius* he pursu'd as an avow'd Enemy; nor ' would he ever quit his Resolution, till he had ' prov'd his Destruction.'

This Speech was more the Effect of his present ungovernable Passion, than intended Design; and no doubt upon a sedate Consideration, he afterwards saw the ill Consequences it would be of. He thought indeed it would raise an Opinion of his Courage and Resoluteness in the Cabal; but in this he was mistaken: For the more sober Part of his own Party were convinc'd of his Motives, and insatiable Desire of Revenge; others, instead of praising his Courage, censur'd his Imprudence. Whatever he might think of its affecting *Tullius*, it was far from intimidating his settled Constancy: He despised his impotent Rage: The Consciousness of Innocence made him have not any thing to fear from the Accusation of Guilt, nor the Resoluteness of his Temper from the exasperated Fury of an Enemy.

I before mention'd that *Fulvius* first set up a Faction on account of some private Pique, which

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was that which occasioned this irreconcilable Hatred of his to *Tullius*.

*Tullius* was a Man who from his first Appearance in the World gain'd the Esteem of all: He was of a courteous Behaviour, and winning Affability; in Friendship faithful; not soon provok'd to Anger; when provok'd, unrevenged; his Mind constant; resolute, undaunted; his Speech fluent, nervous, graceful; forgetful of Favours conferr'd on others, none more mindful of those receiv'd. He had been admir'd for opposing, in the most dangerous Times, the arbitrary Designs on the Liberty of the Subject; and in short, whose Character was that of an honest,\* frank, open-hearted, and worthy *Englishman*. *Tullius's* Merits and Capacity were too great to be unregarded: His Loyalty was repaid by the Favours of his Prince; in whose Councils, by his prudent Management and Honesty he had long presidet. In Courts the Jealous and the Ambitious are always forming Schemes against the Favourite of their Prince; but the Fidelity and Wisdom of *Tullius* had been for a continued Series of Time so manifest, that it had fix'd him in his Prince's Esteem, notwithstanding all the Attempts of his private or more open Rivals. Among the first of these was *M. Fulvius*; who tho' professing an intimate Friendship, yet as his Avarice after Power was unbounded, he flatter'd himself with a Hope of some time having the Success to rival the envied *Tullius*. While he was fond of this Imagination, and greedy after every thing that he thought might pave his Way to this Attempt, there became vacant one of the principal Posts in the Kingdom: His Ambition immediately excited him to use all his Endeav-

\*Vide Sir R. Steele's Dedication to his Apology.

yours for obtaining it: But whether *Tullius* oppos'd his Design, or the noble Birth and Qualifications of *Q. Marcius* had recommended him to his Prince, is uncertain: But of the two Competitors the last was thought the most worthy.

The Nature of *Fulvius* could brook no Disappointment: He imagin'd he should have succeeded, had not *Tullius* (as he thought) oppos'd him; and if he had oppos'd him, it was through Jealousy, and therefore thought his first Scheme was entirely frustrated. His Desires were too ardent to be conquer'd by one Disappointment: *Tullius* he esteem'd as his greatest Obstacle, whom the readiest way to remove, was to profess himself his open Enemy. He immediately left the Court, and excited this Faction, not so much out of Disloyalty to his Prince, as Enmity to his Minister; not so much for the Good of his Country, as his private Ambition.

At that Time the Affairs of *Europe* were in such a Condition that it was doubtful whether Peace or War was to be expected most. The neighbouring States and Kingdoms, whatever Desires they had for Peace, were making all the Preparations necessary for a War: Those in the Administration could not but think it necessary for *England* to increase her Land and Naval Forces; that, tho' they might expect the best, they might not be unprepar'd for the worst.

At this Juncture, *Lentulus* and *Cassius* among the *Patricians* embrac'd the Opportunity, and inveigh'd vehemently in the Senate against all the Proceedings and Measures of *Tullius* and the Administration: They went back to their first coming into Power, and from Treaty to Treaty; from each annual Demand of Supplies, to the granting the last; endeavour'd to shew the ill

Conduct of their Affairs Abroad, and their immoderate Extravagance at Home. On the contrary, several who were too nearly concern'd in the Government not to think a Defence necessary, answer'd them Argument by Argument. After considerable Debates of many, some defending, some blaming; some exaggerating, others mollifying, *Q. Annius*, who till then had sat silent, began to speak to this Purpose.

‘ As my chief Desire is the Welfare of my  
 ‘ Country; as there is nothing can give me a  
 ‘ greater Pleasure than to see it in Prosperity, or  
 ‘ nothing more Uneasiness than to view it bur-  
 ‘ then’d with Misfortunes, no one would have  
 ‘ been more ready to applaud those Men who  
 ‘ should have contributed to the First, no one  
 ‘ shall be more bold to censure those who have  
 ‘ drawn on the Last. I must agree with those  
 ‘ who have spoke against the Course of our pre-  
 ‘ sent Affairs, and wish only they were in a bet-  
 ‘ ter Posture. *M. Tullius* has long in this Assem-  
 ‘ bly told us, that Measures were prosecuting to  
 ‘ make us happy: We were to expect a Peace,  
 ‘ and all the Blessings that attend one. We have  
 ‘ long waited the Issue, and — long we may  
 ‘ wait. We have no War indeed, but we  
 ‘ suffer all the Burthens of the greatest. If We,  
 ‘ or even They, expect a Peace, why this Ex-  
 ‘ pence of Troops, why these Naval Armaments?  
 ‘ If these Forces are not to be employ’d against  
 ‘ an Enemy Abroad, I wish I could say I did not  
 ‘ not suspect they are to be employ’d at Home  
 ‘ against our ——— I shall say no more ———  
 ‘ Let the Conscious take the Guilt to them-  
 ‘ selves. ——— This I must add, That should  
 ‘ the Schemes of those in Power by Chance take  
 ‘ place,



‘ place, and we should enjoy a Peace, I hope we  
 ‘ should be lessen’d of our Burthens at Home,  
 ‘ and that their Peace may not be unprofitable,  
 ‘ or unworthy their Country.’

After a short Pause of profound Silence, *C. Antonius*, a Friend of *Tullius*, arose; and beginning to speak, drew on him the Attention of all.

‘ Whatever Ardor *Q. Annius* may express  
 ‘ he has for the Weal of his Country, I be-  
 ‘ lieve no Man can have its Interest more at  
 ‘ Heart, than those in the present Administration  
 ‘ of Affairs: Nor do I wonder that he so readily  
 ‘ agrees with those that have spoke against the  
 ‘ present Measures, when he has so many Reasons  
 ‘ why he should not dissent from them. As to his  
 ‘ Complaint of the Burthen of the greatest War,  
 ‘ I hope every one will allow there is a wide Dif-  
 ‘ ference in the Burthen of a few additional  
 ‘ Forces, and that of an Army Abroad. Yet  
 ‘ these are rais’d only as they are immediately ne-  
 ‘ cessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, with  
 ‘ regard to the present Increase of the Forces  
 ‘ of our Foreign Neighbours. What his Suspi-  
 ‘ cion is of their being employ’d at Home, I  
 ‘ cannot comprehend: But let it be the most ma-  
 ‘ licious, as it is without the least Foundation.  
 ‘ To the reproachful Turn of *Should the Schemes*  
 ‘ *of them in Power by chance take place, he hopes*  
 ‘ *the Peace may not be unprofitable, or unworthy his*  
 ‘ *Country*; I shall only answer, That the Integri-  
 ‘ ty and Ability of those in Power so far exceeds  
 ‘ that of those he had the Honour formerly to  
 ‘ go great Lengths with, that the Peace now ne-  
 ‘ gotiating would not be branded with the great-  
 ‘ est Marks of Infamy to the latest Posterity; as

‘ ungenerous and unfaithful to our Allies; as un-  
 ‘ profitable to our Fellow Citizens, or unworthy  
 ‘ of our Country.’

When he had ended, a general Murmuring en-  
 su’d through the whole Senate; each applauding  
 or censuring according to their different Senti-  
 ments: Some extoll’d the Boldness of *Annius*,  
 others the Answer of *Antonius*.

These two were much esteem’d by their seve-  
 ral Parties: In Characters and Age far unequal,  
 but in their Eloquence (tho’ of a various kind)  
 there was not much Disparity: *Antonius* was cour-  
 teous, gay, and affable; *Annius* more severe, and  
 reserv’d: *Antonius* in his speaking us’d a sweet,  
 gentle, persuasive Manner; *Annius*’s was short,  
 bold, and somewhat imperious: The First such  
 a Master of his Temper, that he was never hur-  
 ry’d into any thing improper; the Latter’s Im-  
 petuosity often forc’d him to abrupt Pauses: *An-  
 tonius*’s Loyalty had been always approv’d; *An-  
 nius*’s suspected: *Antonius* would have done no-  
 thing for the Injury of his Country; *Annius* little  
 for the Happiness of his Prince: The one con-  
 tented with the Character of an honest ENG-  
 LISHMAN, the other fond of that of a MO-  
 DERN PATRIOT.

At the same time things are carried on with  
 such Warmth in the Senate, *Catiline* (who was  
 for ever excluded thence, yet acting in strictest  
 Concert with his Colleagues) was using all his  
 Arts to persuade People into the Belief of the  
 Folly and Corruption of the Ministry. The  
 Dangers of Liberty, the threatening Tyranny of  
 a Standing Army, were the constant Topicks of  
 him and *Fulvius*, who always acted in a direct  
 Opposition to what they thought *Tullius* and the  
 Ministry

Ministry were agitating. If they imagin'd there would be a War, they prais'd the Happiness of Peace: If a Peace, they doubted the Effects of it, and thought it was less eligible, than a just War. That was cry'd up for Prudence one Week, which was ridicul'd for Folly the next.

How intent soever *Tullius* and the Ministry might be in making Treaties with foreign Princes for a Peace, *Fulvius* and *Catiline* were not less busied in forming new Alliances with the Discontented for a Commotion. They were now join'd by *Cethegus*, one of a hot fiery Temper, and ready Genius, but whose Brain was turn'd with vain Chimera's, and the Notion of his own Merit. This Man had long attended *Tullius*, from an Expectation of a Reward for some past Services: But whether *Tullius* did not reward him answerable to the Hopes he had conceiv'd, or thought he deserv'd none, he was suddenly so enrag'd against him, that his natural Heat of Temper, heightened by his inflam'd Frenzy, drove him to the most unaccountable Actions: He accus'd *Tullius* of the highest Crimes before his Prince, in the midst of his Court: The Strangeness of the thing surpriz'd all: But though his Complaint bore all the evident Signs of a Madman, yet it was received with the greatest Candor, tho' with the greatest Surprise.

*Fulvius* and *Catiline* were not wanting in making a proper Use of *Cethegus*: They, by humouring his Vanity, or exciting his Rage, put him on things they themselves did not care for. But besides that *Cethegus*, by complaining of the Hardships he had suffer'd, that the Accusation of Madness was Malice only, with his appealing in a moving Manner to the People, had gain'd him the Credit of many: And what added to his Success,

cess, was, the Strenuousness with which *Fulvius* and *Catiline* appear'd in his Cause. *Cethegus's* Frenzy was of that sort which does not affect the Brain but when the Cause is touch'd from whence it proceeds. Hence he could reason rationally, write persuasively, where his Vanity or Disappointment were not immediately concern'd; but where he could any where mention his Merit, or hint at *Tullius*, he insensibly betray'd what with the greatest Caution he would have conceal'd.

After a long Contention, this Cause was dropt for one they thought of more Moment. *Tullius*, and those in the Government, had now enter'd into a Treaty with *Germany* and *Spain*, to settle a *Spanish* Prince in the *Tuscan* Territories: *Fulvius* and *Catiline* could have nothing to object at first; but their contradictory Nature soon supply'd them with Malice and Sedition: They shortly found Objections, to prove it could not possibly succeed, and that it must be attended with an immense Charge; and, in all Probability, with a long and unprofitable War: Nor did they stop here; but even accus'd their Prince of Infidelity, and Treaty-breaking, and that *Tullius* and the Ministry \* *were drawing on their Country the Resentments which usually attend the Violations of Faith.*

In the mean time the Meeting of the Senate return'd; and the mutual Strife, Discord, Contention, and Altercation, in opposing and defending, return'd also. While *Tullius* and the Ministry were enlarging and preserving Liberty, *Fulvius* and his Associates were complaining of their Encroachments on it: They aiming to benefit the People by the best Laws, These to inflame them with the most seditious Surmises.

\* Vide *Hague* Letter, 2d of *Jan.*

During



During this Meeting an Affair happen'd, which as it has some Relation to *Fulvius's* acting in this Faction, I think it not improper to take some notice of. As *Fulvius* and *Catiline* were never remiss of that important Share of their Trust, the Superintendency of their Paper Artillery; and being situated in so conspicuous a Post, the Writings of the opposite Party were mostly levell'd at them: But one more particularly, which accus'd them of \* Sedition and Defamation: *Fulvius* betray'd that it had not a little mov'd his Anger; and thinking (upon what Account is not certain) that a young Nobleman was the Author of it, answer'd it in such a Manner, that the Nobleman (who had before deny'd his being the Author) thought his Honour too nearly concern'd not to resent it: Nothing but the Sword could end the Controversy the Pen had begun. They met, they fought; but by the Interposition of their two Friends, it ended in no worse Consequences than a few slight Wounds. There were not wanting those who on this Occasion represented the Fact as ignominiously as if their *Patriot* had been assassinated: But no reasonable Man, even among their own Party, tho' he might not praise, yet neither could he blame the Conduct of the young Noble; few but entirely censur'd that of *Fulvius*.

As the Time now drew near, when the *Spanish* Prince was to be settled in his new Dominions, *Fulvius* and *Catiline* return'd with double Fury to their Charge; their old Doubts, Jealousies, Dangers, and Impossibilities, were again renew'd. On the contrary, it was urg'd, that the Measures that had been taken were on so sure a Foundation, that the Introduction of the Prince

\* Sedition and Defamation Display'd:

would be accompanied with no Difficulties, but the Peace of *Europe* would be entirely fix'd: The Event was to determine all.

But, lest the Spirit of Opposition should any ways droop, they continued, by various Arts, exaggerating the People against *Tullius*: They confin'd not themselves to his Actions in a publick Capacity, but they descended into the minute Circumstances of private Life. This Conduct lost them many who had been long bigotted to them as Defenders of their Rights: They began plainly to perceive their Malice, and Designs; their Masque of *Patriotism* became of little service to them: Experience, the most convincing Argument, confuted all their imaginary Chimera's. For every one was sensible of what he saw perform'd: No one could dread any Danger of their Liberty, when Laws were making for its Preservation. The Stipulation of Treaties, which had been ridicul'd as impracticable, were actually made good: The young Prince was in Possession of his *Tuscan* Territories, without Danger, without Difficulty, without War: The Burthens complain'd of were already lighten'd, and to be made yet more easy. As these were Facts of which All knew the Truth, they convinc'd All, but those who were resolv'd not to be convinc'd.

*Fulvius* and the Cabal had \*the Mortification to see all the Measures of the Ministry succeed, notwithstanding all their extraordinary Managements, and so many Labours to prevent it: And those *Patriots* who have not only censur'd and inveigh'd against all their Measures, but loaded the Defence of them with the foulest Imputation, will be oblig'd now to take a great deal of Shame to themselves. If they oppos'd the Measures of

\* Vide the *Hague* Letter of the 2d of *January*, 1730.  
the

the Ministry only as they esteem'd them Wrong,  
 the Event has demonstrated they were Right :  
 If they acted for the Good of their Country, for  
 the Good of their Country they should desist,  
 But if Faction is the evident Ground of their  
*Patriotism*, they will scarce be esteem'd Men of  
 common Honesty, much less the *Illustrious* PA-  
 TRIOTS of *their Country*.

F I N I S.

